2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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Zwangendaba or Mputa. Some informants showed that there was not always agreement about the use of the terms *mabandla* and *mabuto* when relating stories of the past, and the connotation of age regiment was sometimes given to *mabandla*. Cibambo and the other Ngoni historians who used the Ngoni language habitually were, however, quite clear about the differentiation between the two terms, one being territorial and the other denoting an age group. This use of the term *libuto* was confirmed by Dr. Kuper in her account of Swazi military organization.[1]

The organization of Ngoni warfare included the use of divining and of medicines to ensure success in war, and the summoning of the men charged to carry out these functions. In both Ngoni kingdoms there were men alive at the time of my visits who knew the medicines for war and had performed the functions of a 'war-medicine doctor'. According to these informants there was no sharp division between the functions of the diviner and the 'doctor' in relation to their services to the kingdom and to the army. There were individuals who had acted in both capacities. The diviner's task was to prophesy about probable success in war and about attacks from the enemy. He might, and sometimes did, combine this with 'doctoring' the army.

The preparation and administering of medicines to strengthen the army were discussed by informants in terms of two main types of medicine and a third which was less often referred to. The two main types were *intonga* and *intelezi* and the third one *inklenza*. In the northern kingdom Mopo Jere, who had been a 'war doctor' and was the son of a former famous 'war doctor', insisted that the term *intonga* could be used in several different ways: for medicines made of roots; for a rod or stick (*nduku*) which was medicated; and occasionally for the 'doctor' who used these objects. He also emphasized that each chief or *amabutho* had his own *intonga* and performed ceremonies for his own warriors before they left his kraal for that of the Paramount, where they went through another ceremony of having medicines administered to them before going on the campaign.

Formerly the *intonga*, that is, the stick or rod, was treated with the root of a shrub ground up and mixed with water. A beast was then killed, the Paramount ate the meat in the kraal with his senior men, and the skin was made into a bag in which the medicated *intonga* was placed. This skin bag containing the *intonga* was carried in front of the army when it was on the march. It could only be carried and handled when with the army by boys who had not yet reached puberty. The *intonga* in its bag was pointed at the enemy, as the army drew near, to make his warriors tremble and feel powerless and take to their heels. Its potency to make men powerless was so strong that no man from the Ngoni army dared walk in front of it, lest he too should lose all his strength.

[1] Kuper, H. 'The Development of the Military Organization in Swaziland.' *Africa*, Vol. X, No. 4, p. 176.

The *intelezi* was made from the roots of a creeper and a bush which grew on the banks of rivers. These roots were burned over the fire, pounded and mixed with water. The warriors were given some to lick on the tips of their fingers, some was smeared inside their shields, and the rest was beaten in a gourd till it foamed. The 'war doctor' took the tail of a gnu or of a zebra and dipped it in the foam and sprinkled the warriors as they finally passed out of the gateway of the kraal on the campaign. This medicine was for strengthening them and also for making them 'slippery', so that the enemy spears would glide by them and not pierce them, and they could slip between the posts of the enemy stockade. After being sprinkled with the *intelezi* no one could sleep with his wife or any other woman, as he would risk spoiling the effect of the medicine and therefore would be more liable to be killed.

The *inhlenza* was a spear with a barbed hook. The Paramount threw it in front of the army as they stood in the kraal until all the warriors had left. It was then put back in the *indlunkulu* where it was kept in the care of the owner of that hut.

There were thus three functions to be performed, each by one of the war medicines. The *intelezi* was to strengthen and protect individual warriors. The *intonga* was the symbol of their Paramount and their kingdom leading them to war and weakening the enemy. The *inhlenza* was the symbol of invincibility, administered by the Paramount.

There were two stages of assembling in the Paramount's village before a campaign. The first followed the initial summons to mobilize, when the local companies (*mabandla*) marched into the kraal, sorted themselves into age regiments (*mabuto*) and sang their regimental songs. Then followed the *ligubo*, the war-dance, when the warriors wore their full war-dress, and the women joined in. There was no individual dancing but a working up of corporate feeling through the dancing and songs. The Ngoni used no drums in their music, relying on achieving rhythm and unison by the stamping of their feet and their singing. After this dance the warriors left for their villages, while at the Paramount's village preparation was made for food and snuff for the campaign. Hard cakes of roasted bullrush millet, kaffir-corn and groundnuts pounded together, and dried meat, were the main supplies carried. At the second summons the warriors returned in their companies with their carriers. These carriers, who were usually young boys, carried the war-dresses and ornaments wrapped in a mat, and the food supplies.

Since on this final meeting depended much of the ultimate success of the campaign, only the warriors and the senior men were present, and all women and young children were excluded from the kraal. After the objectives of the fighting had been explained the warriors were addressed by the old men and exhorted to be brave and to help their comrades, and then the final medication by the 'war doctor' took place. The separation of the army from the civil population was complete until their return

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643 so briefly referred to was in the nature of a warning that the kingdom must be held together and certain Ngoni customs and institutions preserved. This general mandate to a new Paramount was in keeping with the Ngoni policy of maintaining order and justice within the kingdom, while showing all the aggressive qualities of warfare against external enemies.

173 643 In the story of their northward trek, the division of authority among the central Ngoni between the Maseko and the Phungwako clans was referred to as the Maseko taking the '*Bayete*' and the Phungwako taking the *tonga*.[1] In central Ngoniland the *tonga* was a collective name given to royal medicines used at different times for different purposes and was not reserved for the medicine used in the army as in the northern kingdom. It was said to have been 'from the beginning in the south'; 'it is very old, ever since people were born'. The following description was given by a member of the Phungwako clan in the head village of Chief Kacere:

643 789 ¶ The Ngoni had protection for all their people of the most powerful kind. This was the *tonga*. This was specially to protect the Paramount at his accession. When the Ngoni were thus accustomed to being protected by the *tonga*, there was one thing which gave them protection above all others. If the Paramount died, in arranging matters, the *tonga* was essential in establishing the new Paramount. And if war had to be made, the *tonga* also gave protection so that they had strength to overcome their enemies.

[791] Also when the Ngoni were travelling in wild places and did not find somewhere to stay, they began to listen to the *tonga*. The diviner, who went ahead with the *tonga*, looked to see if there were bad omens. When they found a place to stay and stayed there with their cattle, they were protected by the *tonga*, so that they were not afraid of anything. They just conquered the country and took the cattle and made the people surrender.

[825] When getting ready the *tonga*, they could only do it with a sheep. They killed it, and took its blood and its fat and smeared the *tonga*. And the big people who were set aside for the work of the *tonga*, it was they who were doing these things. The meat of the sheep which was killed for the *tonga*, they did not eat it just anyhow, no. They were eating it in a special way, not in the house, no; nor with the women, no; but in a very different way from the meat of every day. They ate it without being greedy when it was divided, and they took care not to put some aside, for they feared lest someone should eat the *tonga*. They just ate to finish it quickly, and when they had finished they did not sleep in their houses with their wives, but they went apart and slept in the place where this was done for the *tonga*. Their sleeping was different from other days, for they did not sleep on good mats, no. When they had eaten meat for the *tonga* they changed their ways, to act differently from usual. Instead of

[1] The head of the Phungwako clan, Chief Kacere, ruled one of the Ngoni states in the Dedza district which, in the 1930's, was separate from the central Ngoni kingdom.

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sleeping on mats they slept on grass until the required days were finished, and they scattered to their homes.

This account brings out certain elements in the ritual surrounding the *tonga*. The word *tonga* in the Ngoni language means 'rod', and was used in the very ancient folk tale *Intonga yetusi*, 'The Brass Rod'. There was no rod, however, nor anything representing one, among the medicines or ingredients which together made up the *tonga*. A descendant of one of the early 'guardians' of the *tonga* said about it:

¶ The *tonga* is the horn of a sheep, and the horn by itself has no real power, but there are other things which give it power like the rib of a lion.

It is clear that in the past the *tonga* was regarded as giving protection to the Ngoni people, particularly by providing medicine at the accession of a new Paramount when he needed medicine for strengthening.

Other informants from the Phungwako clan said that the *tonga* provided the medicine with which the Paramount washed at the time of *incwala*, the feast of the first-fruits. No one alive in the 1930's had seen that ceremony and the special songs had been forgotten. A tradition remained that the Paramount had to undergo seclusion and ritual washing with medicines before the first green crops could be eaten.

Throughout the references to the *tonga* there was no hint that it was ever worshipped or addressed in any way similar to the invocations to the ancestor spirits. It was clearly a 'medicine' possessing great power and guarded as a national treasure. The ingredients of the medicine were kept in a particular way, in a particular place, in the guardianship of a particular person. I have seen the ingredients, the place and the guardian, but I gave a promise not to reveal them. I was allowed to handle the objects and, after doing so, I had to perform the ritual act of *washing my hands with cowdung. This was the form of ritual cleansing* practised by the Paramount after using the medicines.

There were two ways in which these medicines were used by the Paramount to strengthen him on his accession. He washed in the kraal with the medicines whipped into a foam. The old men said that in ancient times the water for making the medicines had to be fetched from the sea. In addition to washing he had to eat meat in which the medicines were mixed. The majority of informants said that beef was used for this ritual eating, while others said that, as in the ritual for preparing the *tonga*, the meat taken was sheep. This ritual was said to have taken place for the last time at the death of Cikusi and the accession of Gomani I, though it was hinted that it had been performed at the accession of the Ngoni chief of the Maseko clan now living in Portuguese territory.

It was clear that the Maseko Paramounts made use of the *tonga* as a royal medicine both at their accession and in time of war. The reference

to its use at the *incwala* ceremony and dance was a reminder of the former belief in the close connexion between the health and strength of the Paramount and the fertility of the land and its crops, a belief which had its counterpart in the cremation of the Paramount and the sweeping of the ashes into the river to fertilise the land.

The *incwala*, or ceremony of the first-fruits, was of great importance among the Swazi, and the Ngoni 'took it with them' when they left the south. Among the northern and central Ngoni the tradition of the ceremony remained, but the practice was given up before the kingdoms were finally established. Cibambo collected from the old men in the northern kingdom the following account of what took place at the *incwala:*

¶ Among the dances of the Ngoni *ngoma, umsindo, ligubo, incwala* was the best and most important. They say it lasted about two weeks, or if it began when the moon was full until it became new again. When they said '*incwala* is closed', no one sings or dances it again; when it begins everyone sings the songs of *incwala* and so others. This dance belonged to the Paramount of the whole country. A description of *incwala* is difficult because it was given up long ago. Even the old people of today have never seen it.

It began in the middle of the month of *Intokoni* (January). Young men were sent to look for ripe food in the gardens by streams. The owners had not picked any nor was much of the crop nearly ready. They took some juicy stalks of maize, and pumpkins with their roots. They also looked for a wild fruit like a gourd, very bitter, which some people use to stir up their dogs to make them fierce in hunting and quick in scent. This fruit the Ngoni call *igumuzo*. These they mix with medicines and the *inkosi* eats it without the people knowing. The belief was that if the Paramount ate the first-fruits carelessly, or if the people were the first to taste the first-fruits of the year, there would be disaster for the *inkosi* and the country. After a month, when the crops were ripening, the *incwala* began, the crops not being completely ripe and no one having yet tasted the new crops.

In the month of February the *inkosi* announced that everywhere the *incwala ya'nkosi* should begin on such-and-such a day. Quickly much beer was cooked in all the villages by everyone. On the day the beer-making began, the dance began also. The word was sent round everywhere: *incwala seigwabulisiwe*, '*incwala* is now opened'. All the people went to the central village of Elangeni, the village of Hlacwayo. They took crops which had been planted in December, *impala*, and added the first *igumuzo* fruit to them. Great crowds of people gathered at Elangeni and danced. Many were in the kraal but many more were dancing outside. All were dressed carefully. They danced with reeds in their hands or with the sticks of their shields. It seemed as though the song everywhere was the same. Women going for wood and water, and children and youths, wherever they went, the song was on their lips. In dancing the women were by themselves, and the men by themselves. They faced each other in the dance. They were bending their bodies backwards and forwards, and moving their necks and shoulders.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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cattle never came back to the kraal in the evening without one or more of the senior men standing by the gate and watching them and counting them as they went in. Sick cattle were noted and the herd-boys questioned about them. Mating was observed and noted, but not regulated, though poorly developed male beasts were sometimes castrated by one of the men who had acquired skill as a cattle doctor. Such a man would also administer drenches and other medicines, but the responsibility for calling a *sing'anga*, the specialist in medicines, to perform a ritual for a sick beast was taken by the whole group. They also made the decision to call a *sing'anga* to protect the kraal against lions. On several occasions I was in a village where lions attempted to get into the kraal at night, and the next morning the senior men who were responsible for the herd discussed the efficacy of this or that man's 'lion medicine' and decided who should be sent for to make the kraal safe again.

Important decisions were taken from time to time about placing the cattle belonging to the herd of a house in other kraals. This custom of *kuikilila* (lit. to entrust) was common in the central kingdom and had been adapted to modern needs as one means of evading the cattle-tax by appearing to have few cattle, whereas a number were boarded out in other areas. This boarding out was a long-established custom of the Ngoni and was practised for various reasons. One reason, and probably the most important formerly, was to build up good relations with leading men in the outlying villages by entrusting cattle to their care. The reward if the cattle throve was often the gift of a beast, and this was one means by which men of local tribes could build up a herd. It was also a signal honour to have cattle entrusted in this way and it was acknowledged by sending to such a 'keeper' the head of any beast killed from this herd. Another reason for boarding out was to prevent diseases spreading among a whole herd all kept in one kraal, and yet another was a belief that certain men had latent power with cattle, and that beasts put in their care throve and multiplied. This emphasis on enlarging the herds by natural increase was the main motive for letting the calves have all the milk they needed in order that they might thrive.

The uses of cattle and cattle products

Many of the uses to which cattle were put and for which they were greatly valued have been referred to in this chapter and in earlier sections of this book. We shall now examine the consumption of meat, milk and blood as food, and the forms of exchange in which cattle were directly exchanged or converted into cash. The ritual use of cattle will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

The testimony of early Europeans in Nyasaland and the accounts by the Ngoni of their life in the pre-European period agree in giving the consumption of meat, milk, and blood a high place in the diet of the cattle-owning families. It was a widespread European criticism in the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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returning from work in the south about every two years or so, even if it was only for temporary residence in the village, mitigated, though only to some extent, the social disintegration and upheaval caused by the absence of so many young men.

In pre-European days, girls waited to marry for five to ten years after attaining puberty. For high-born Ngoni girls a further 'pre-marriage' ceremony and ritual took place immediately before marriage. This was after the girl and young man accepted by her as a 'lover' had been courting for some time but before any formal betrothal took place which involved the approach of the two families through intermediaries, and the discussions about the transfer of cattle. The Ngoni said that this pre-marriage rite was the equivalent for the girls of taking the head-ring for the men, because when it was held it was a public declaration that marriage was now possible for the girl, and she was acknowledged as having reached adult, that is married women's, status.

This ceremony began by the senior women of the girl's home sending for her father and saying to him: 'This child is now grown up. She is ready to be prepared to enter the state of adulthood.' One of the Ngoni names for the ceremony meant—'staying in the hut as if fasting'—a ritual practice associated with rain-making by the Paramount, and with taking 'medicines' for strengthening a new Paramount or chief on his accession. The girl, with her companion, spent two or three days in a hut, hidden behind upright mats curved so that no one could see round them. They were naked except for a long soft leather cloak worn over one shoulder and tied under the right arm. During this seclusion they had food brought to them by the senior women of the girl's house. While the girls were hidden away the village women cooked quantities of meat and brewed beer to entertain friends and relatives of the girl's father. During the feasting and drinking the senior women, with the men, danced the special dances and sang the songs associated with this ritual. Some of

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

necessary to take formal action to restore harmony. Husband and wife still remain separate persons, separated socially by their distinct roles. Yet they are bound together by economic ties, by symbolic procedures, and by mystical connexion.

The sexual rights and obligations of husband and wife in each other are not symmetrical. A man has exclusive sexual rights over his wife, but a woman cannot gain exclusive sexual rights over her husband. Her husband can take other wives, or commit adultery, and she has no ground in law for complaint unless at the same time he neglects her. The most she can do is to make life so unpleasant for him that rather than face her anger he decides to sleep with her alone. Mystical procedures are available to both man and wife, and while a husband may use medicines to safeguard that which is his by right, a wife uses medicines to augment her other sanctions, such as the threat of not cooking food for her husband or of running away to her relatives. There is one class of medicines [6] which a man can administer to his wife by cicatrization which it is believed will cause any lover of the woman to die. Another magical procedure is stated to prevent the lover from withdrawing after coitus, so that the adulterous pair will have to reveal themselves to their neighbours in order to gain medical assistance. These medicines are said to be favoured by men going off to Southern Rhodesia without their wives. It is difficult to tell to what extent they are actually administered, but the belief in their efficacy is wide-spread, and people would comment that so-and-so who was ill had become so because he had slept with a woman doctored in this way, and that the scars on such-and-such a woman were made when her husband had given her this sort of medicine. On the other hand a woman may use medicine [7] to prevent her husband from copulating with anyone else, and there are other medicines which act as love charms or which encourage the husband to stay at home at night.[8] The beliefs about difficult labour and *mdulo* [9] also have a stabilizing effect in that the man may fear for the fate of his child and for that reason be faithful to his wife while she is pregnant. On the other hand it is believed that a rejected lover can give medicine [10] to a woman who resists his approaches, so that she will die or have difficulties in childbirth. The only way for a woman to avoid this hazard is to live demurely and not to excite the attention of other men.

If a woman believes that her husband is committing adultery with

[6] Known as *lukaukko*. There are at least four varieties of this, associated with different maladies all of which are fatal to the adulterer. Cf. *lukauko* in Colson, *Marriage among the Plateau Tonga* (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers—forthcoming).

[7] *Ndamanga*. See below, p. 56.

[8] E.g., medicine made from the house lizard (*mbololiko*) and the domesticated cat, because these animals are always in the house and do not wander about.

[9] See below, p. 46.

[10] *Kalamatila*, from the name of the species of frog from which it is made.

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

she rises early to go and fasten the belt on the infant. Should the man not have a second wife, the one to put the belt on the child is his (the man's) sister. The man does not immediately see the face of his child; some day these same old women make him take it in his arms [hands]. The father then makes them a present of beads.

IV. When they notice the infant is beginning to grow his bottom teeth and to smile at people, the elders tell the father that, "Now you must bring the child into the village." The child's grandmother ties up beforehand some *lizango*. She begins with a little strip of calico, and rolls it round and round the medicine charm and along with a piece of string; then takes a little piece of skin and sews it over this, and takes some beads and sews them on the skin. The mother cooks some relish beforehand. That evening the husband and wife sleep together (this is "to bring the child into the village.") She cuts off the old belt the child is wearing, and puts on the new one with the *lizango* medicine in it, some more of the medicine, similarly tied up, is placed under the infant's head. In the morning she takes the relish to present to the two old women, and then takes the *lizango* she had placed under the child's head and ties it round his neck, and then takes a belt of beads, interspersed with little wooden charms, and adorns the child. When in time the *lizango* belt breaks, they do not look for it or replace it. In the event of an infant dying before he has been "brought into the village," they bury it in some open glade, near the edge of some stream, its funeral is attended by women only. Should a man tramp over the spot where the child is buried, he "has taken" the disease known as *nyesi*. Such a grave is known as *nsenye*.

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

VI

A VILLAGE EXODUS

I. The village chief, when he wishes to remove the village to a new site, tells the young men of the village beforehand to look out all the building materials necessary. These they will just pile up. Then some day the head old man gets up very early in the morning to go and seek a suitable spot. When he finds a good place, he says, "Yes, this is where I shall build" (lit. "This is my place"). When he goes to the village that evening, he tells them not to break the rules enforced on such occasions, as he wishes to "kindle fire in the forest," as he is tired of the present site of the village. Next morning at dawn he rises very early, along with his brother and the medicine man, and goes to the site of the new village. They begin to walk all round, tying grass tufts into little knots and smearing them with medicine, and they make fire where they are going to build the *Kuka* hut, and they put some medicine on the fire, and bring water, and blow it in a spray out of their mouth. And the reason they thus medicine-guard the village, is for fear of lions and human flesh-eaters. Then the village people come with the building materials, and they are told to "clear the ground." And they do so, and when this is finished, the chief takes the door-posts and sticks them in position, and also the side-posts, when others put them in (firmly). When the *Kuka* hut is completed they begin with that of the headman. When dark others leave, going back to the old village. There remain only the chief, and the others who will continue to sleep there, not

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

585 606 present of calico and gives it her. The mother-in-law pours out a little pot of beer and gives it to her "little" son-in-law, and he drinks and drinks, and one drinks and hands to the other. The brother is still sitting (covered up). When this is finished the mother-in-law goes out and the man then gets up and drinks with his companions, saying, "Now we have 'uncovered' each other, and the state of mother-in-lawship requiring one to run away from the other is finished." They now honour each other.

IX

THE RAIN TEMPLE

789 I. If the rains do not come people say, "Look at this, the rain keeps refusing to fall from above; come, let us try to propitiate the rain spirit, and perhaps the rain may come." Then they begin to make ready, saying, "Let all of you collect a few handfuls of grain, we can at least try; if we fail we shall do so having at least made the attempt." Then they begin to collect the maize, the very same day it is ground and pounded, and they boil the beer and pour it in a gourd-cup. Next morning at dawn every one comes together and they go to the rain temple. They clear away the grass that the ground may be open. He who is chief of the ceremony sits in the middle and first draws some of the beer and pours it in a pot buried in the ground, and says, "Master, *Chauta*, you have hardened your heart towards us, what would you have us do? We

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

must perish indeed. Give your children the rains, there is the beer we have given you." Then the people begin to clap their hands and sound the *nkulungwani;* they sing, swaying their bodies backwards and forwards, and keep saying, "Pardon, pardon." When they have finished propitiating, they take the beer that remains and dip a cup in and give every one to drink, just a little, no one is short, and even the children are made to sip it. When they have finished they take branches of trees and commence to dance and sing—

"This little cloud, and this,
This little cloud, and this,
Let the rains come with this little cloud.
Give us water,
Our hearts are dry,
Kröle.
Give us water,
Our hearts are dry,
Kröle."

When they come to the village they find an old woman has drawn water in readiness, and put it at the doorway, and the people begin to dip in their branches and wave them aloft, scattering the drops, and then they see the rain come in heavy storm-clouds.

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

between their legs, and begins one by one, and tells him, "You, you will let three days elapse, the fourth you will die;" and tells another, "You will let four days pass, and on the fifth you die." All of them he speaks to thus. Then he takes some medicine and scatters it, and they rise and begin to run off, and the witch-finder also runs away. At the village, when they have slept three days, they hear so and so is dead, and when four days have gone they hear so and so is dead.

XIII

AN ANGONI PRAYER FOR RAIN

I. When rain does not come, they go to the man with the lots to consult them. He of the lots says, "It is the great spirit; it is she who is keeping the rain from coming." Then all the elders assemble. In the morning at dawn, an ox is taken from the kraal, and the chief stands up and says, "This ox I have given you, our ancestor, seeing that you are keeping the rain from us; give us, your children, rain; look, all men are afflicted because of you." And the elders utter a response, saying, "Hail, chief, spare us, help us, thy people." And when they are answering (thus) the ox makes water, and then people know the spirit has heard. Should it not make water, they say the spirit refused (to do as asked), and leave the ox, and go again to consult the lots. And they kill the ox, and cut off its tail, and put it in a basket, and take also the liver, and put in the basket, and these they go off to the *Kuka*

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

789 782 hut with, and set it (the basket) down at "the head" against the wall, and say, "There is the ox we have killed for you." Then they bring all the meat and put it in the *Kuku* hut. In the morning the elders rise early to cut it up; every one eats of it.

XIV

THE FUNERAL OF AN NSUTU

766 I. When the chief of the *Asutu* dies, people are not told at first; they hide the fact from them lest his attendants run away. On the day on which they make it known, they seize beforehand youths and maidens, and then every one is told that the chief has died. Then every one assembles and goes to the grave, and they dig and dig a very large "village" (cave) in the grave. When they have dug this cavity, they take the youths and maidens and shave their heads and rub them with oil, streaming down, and red clay. The youths have already their bows in their hands, as if going to the dance, though they are going to die. Then they lift the corpse and make the youths go in first, and the corpse follows. When they come to the cross-ways, 766 782 they take one of the young men, and sharpening a bamboo, hammer it down through his head with a stone, and the stake grips (lit. bites) the ground. He is sitting upright as if alive, and he is made to hold a bow in his hand. When they come to the grave, they commence to break the legs of the others, and pour the juice of chilies over their heads. (And the reason they do this is because they fear

7: Hodgson G-5 (1926) 1933 FRS Ngoni FRS Maravi FR4

Next day the hunters assemble at the *chiwe* with their bows and arrows, spears and dogs; and the women commenced to sow in anticipation of the rain which they knew would fall. Chiwere himself again remained at home, and his deputy alone was allowed to leave the grass after it had been surrounded by every available man and boy in the neighbourhood so that nothing might escape. Such was the reputation of Chiwere that it is said that rain always fell before sunset on the same day. M 789 791

Then the women cooked the goat at the house of Chiwere, who could not himself partake, as he was the director of the sacrifice; and all the other members of his *chiwango* abstained with him. The liver was cooked in a separate pot after it had been tied up with a piece of *mtsindi* tree in red cloth and goat-skin. It was then covered over, and any other person was allowed to kill a goat and cook its liver in the same pot. Next morning any of their children who had not yet reached the age of initiation were allowed to eat such part of the livers as had not been consumed by the spirits. The meat of the game killed was divided in accordance with the usual rules of hunting. M [262] M [224]

2. *Rainmaking* (*Ngoni*).

Sungundwa's slave wife, Mwachuma, who was brought by Chief Chiwere to the Dowa District, remained there as the mother of all the people and was always referred to as Gogo (grandmother). All the principal spirits of the Angoni were to be found at her village. When rain was desired, Chiwere assembled his Angoni there, and killed four or five black cows, which were *pinked* and eaten outside the kraal. Then he prayed to the spirits of Sungundwa and Gwazi, and poured water into an *ugumudo* (wooden bowl), which was covered with another bowl after some of the water had been poured out into a gourd. This praying was known as *ugudo*. As the chief prayed, he held the gourd in his hand; and as he invoked each spirit in turn, he poured a little water on the ground. After the last spirit had been invoked, he rinsed his mouth, spat the water out, and emptied the gourd upon the ground. Then the people went home, and rain fell. N 789 [776]

VII.—Tribal Life: Personal Rites.

1. *Preparation of the Body* (*Chewa*).

When a man dies, the men (usually relations) watching beside him in the hut close his eyes, straighten his fingers and all his limbs, shave his head, wash and oil him, and wrap him in cloths. These cloths must always be new, and though coloured ones may be used, the outside one must always be white. However poor the relations may be, they invariably manage somehow or other to procure a new white cloth. The death is announced at once with the formula "*watsirizika*" (he is finished). M 764 M [763]

2. *Disposal of the Corpse* (*Chewa*).

On hearing the news, the men of the village beat drums in the locality until the following morning, while men and women wail together, uttering cries of mourning, and occasionally breaking forth into expressions such as, "He and so is dead, I am alone in the world"; "God has done evil to me"; "Whom shall I live with now?" "God should have killed me too";